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BOAS ANNIVERSARY VOLUME

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

WRITTEN IN HONOR OF

FRANZ BOAS

PROFESSOR OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

PRESENTED TO HIM ON THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY
OF HIS DOCTORATE

NINTH OF AUGUST
Nineteen Hundred and Six

[Title Page]

NEW YORK
G. E. STECHERT & CO.
1906

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THE INAU CULT OF THE AINU.

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ST. PETERSBURG.

THE beliefs and religious rites of the Ainu are possibly the most interesting feature in their culture. One of the oddest peculiarities in their cult, the cult of *inau*, I shall present in this paper. My aim will be, not so much to describe completely the cult as to elucidate its genesis, — a question which I have had ample occasion to study during my personal observations of the Ainu, as well as later on in working up the Ainu collection of the Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. But first on the Ainu religion in general.

1. In their fundamental religious conceptions, the Ainu stand quite close to the primitive so-called "shamanistic" religions of the native tribes of Siberia, particularly to that of the Gilyak, their immediate neighbors on Saghalin. All objects and phenomena appear to them, not only as living, animated beings, but even as endowed with complete individuality. The *Ainu* ("the man"), a being one and the same in his nature, is concealed under all multiplicity of forms. A tree, a mountain, and a cliff are living, rational beings, listening, understanding, moving, acting; a small animal, as a frog, may be endowed with the highest intelligence, — an intelligence greater even than that of man; a man may be born from a tree (such, for example, is the legend of the origin of the Ainu themselves), and contract marriage even with beings like a flounder; a felled tree may be revivified, if the shavings into which a small stick has been cut be put into the stump; and even objects made by man, such as a kettle, spear, knife, boat, etc., possess a soul, and may follow man to the other world, etc.

With such a belief, it is but natural that the Ainu should treat as *divine* every object of external nature, every phenomenon which in any way appeals to his imagination, and exhibits properties in which he himself is lacking, or those superior

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798 to his own. All of these are divine objects, and are called
791 *kamui* in the Ainu language. Even a man may be a kamui,
796 provided he distinguish himself among his kinsmen by some-
[554] thing, — bravery, eloquence, success, etc. But not all kamui are objects of worship.

825 The Ainu pantheon is almost exclusively *zoölogical*. There
776 is not a beast, especially of the large ones, — like the bear, the
782 whale, the orc, the walrus, the sea-lion, the seal, the sable, the
171 otter, etc., — which he does not honor with the name "kamui." Beast and kamui are synonymous. In contrast to the Gilyak, Orok, and other natives of the Amur region, who discriminate between a mere beast and a god-beast, — that is, a god-man who has assumed the shape of this or that beast, — the Ainu, in addition, see a kamui in each beast as such. But, like the Gilyak, they pay a properly conscious worship (in the form of offerings and prayers), not to beast in general, but to the "masters"[1] of each species or element, who, in their turn, too, are called *kamui* (in the sense of "master"), with the appellation of this or that sphere of nature added; for example, *nuburi-kamui* ("master of the mountain"), *atui-kamui* ("master of the sea"), *toy-kamui* ("master of the subterranean world"), *chup-kamui* ("master of the sun"), etc.

796 The principal gods on whom the welfare of the Ainu depends are the "masters" of the mountain and sea, who supply them with the main objects of subsistence, — beasts, fish, sea-animals. These are purely zoölogical gods. The one is the "master" of the bear. On the one hand, he is a man; on the other, a real bear, only of unusually large size. All other bears are his fellow-tribesmen.

The "master" of the sea is the orc, *Orca gladiator*. The cult of this beast, as well as the cult of the bear, I have described in detail in my article on the religion of the Gilyak.[2]

[1] Here and throughout this article the words "master" and "mistress" are used in a special sense. Both are a translation of the Russian word *khozyain* (literally, "proprietor of a house"), then a well-to-do man, an esteemed proprietor in the village or town. Just as in communities there are well-to-do, respected citizens and poor fellows, so, among the gods and animals, there are kamui ("masters"), those better off, respected, powerful, those of authority.

[2] See Ethnographical Review (Russian), February, 1904.

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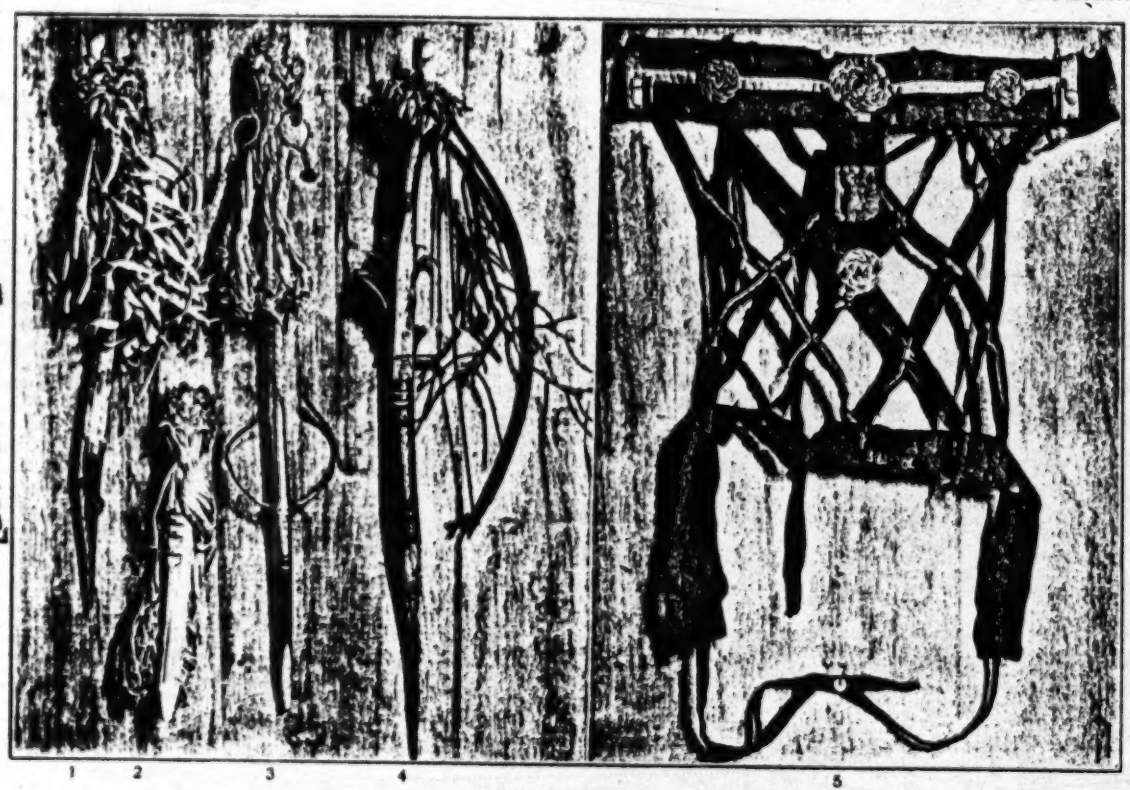

1 2 3 4 5

INAU OF THE AINU, SAGHALIN.

1, Inau without notches, for the ancestors; 2, Inau with four notches, for the master of the mountains and forests; 3, Inau with three notches and ear-rings, for the master of the sun and the mistress of the hearth; 4, Curative inau with three notches, attached to a bow amulet; 5, Curative apeun with plaited shavings appliquéed in the shape of magic coils and strings.

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An "imported" (Japanese) deity, who now plays well-nigh the most important part, — more in word, however, than in fact, — seems to be the "master" of the sun (*chup-kamui*), who, according to the present popular views, is the greatest deity, lording it over all the other gods. In reality this deity has little connection with every-day life. He is naturally closely associated with the "master" of the gens-fire, who plays a really great part.

Besides the principal kamui, there is a series of other, secondary ones. These are the kamui of the gens, such as the "master" of the hut — *yurta* — (*tisse-kamui*), the grandmother or the "mistress" of the fire, and other hero-ancestors; finally, numberless "masters" of individual rivulets, groves, valleys, mountains, cliffs, etc. All of these are kind, beneficent kamui, on whom man's whole welfare depends. They are his nourishers and guardians, defenders from all evils and disasters.

But there are also beings whose special business it is constantly to harm the Ainu, and to bring upon him disease and even death. For these beings, whom commonly he does not even honor with the appellation "kamui," he has no cult whatever. For them he has no offerings, no prayers, nor even simple piety. With them the Ainu finds it possible only to struggle. The secrets of this, so to speak, art of war, are known to the shamans (*takusa ainu*), who play among them a rôle similar to that among all primitive peoples, though they do not, however, enjoy any special esteem or influence. But the benevolent deities they hold in veneration. To them long and eloquent prayers are offered; with them the Ainu share their best viands and beverages; and finally in their honor are set up, wherever possible, those countless objects, varied in form and size, which are known among them under the name "inau."

2. There are inau of the most varied shapes and destinations. The most common type is a small stick, skilfully cut at various points into shavings in the form of curls (see Plate XXXIV, Figs. 1–4). The usual material is willow-wood; less frequently alder or mountain-ash may be used, according to the end in view. Generally the stick is first stripped of its bark, and then roughly planed with a knife; but sometimes the bark

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INAU OF THE AINU, SAGHALIN.

1, Inau on the top of the tree to which the bear is bound at the bear festival; 2, Inau for the bear's head; 3, Curative inau attached to the wooden figure of a cuckoo; 4, Figure of a bear bound with strings; 5, Curative inau in the form of a necklace; 6, Inau in the form of an ear-protector for the bear.

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is left on, with the exception of the middle portion in front (Fig. 1). The mechanical devices of the work are most primitive. The tool is an ordinary short knife with blade somewhat curved, which the worker draws quickly towards himself along the piece of wood, holding one end of it with his hand, and pressing the other to his chest.

A slight examination of an *inau-stick* will show that it exhibits a primitive representation of a *human figure*. Its upper part is always made in the shape of a little head. The middle part commonly contains *notches*, always arranged in a certain order and definite number, according to the shape and designation of the inau: thus, in Plate XXXIV, Figs. 3, 4, there are three notches, one a little above the middle planed part, the other two always below it; in Fig. 2 there are four notches in succession; on others there are seven, and even more. On some sticks there are left on both sides, symmetrically situated, knots in the shape of arms, which are most frequently curved into a circle, — the fire-inau, the sun-inau (Fig. 3). Indeed, the Ainu themselves distinguish in the inau parts of a body, — the head, crown, neck, hair, brows, eyes, mouth, lips (or mouth alone), navel, and sexual organs (the last six, all in the form of notches), and, finally, hands and feet (the lower part).

On some, the so-called *nin'kari inau* (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3), are found even ear-rings (*nin'kari*) of shavings. This denotes a female form. On Plate XXXV, Fig. 1, may be seen two figures on one knot, — one, a female, with ear-rings; the other, a male, without them.

But the inau-stick is only one form of inau. All external inau — the so-called *soyta-inau*, that is, placed outside of the house — are usually in the form of tall poles, or even whole trees, sometimes stripped of their bark, and again with the bark on, but with notches, and always cut to shavings, or bound with shavings. These often present very complicated figures. For example, the *chup-kamui inau*, the inau to the "master" of the sun, represents a complete little fir-tree in its bark, with arms curved into a circle (symbol of the sun) in the middle, with the three ordinary notches (mouth, navel, and sexual organs) in the middle section, two pairs of oblique incisions on both

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778 sides of the arms, seven spiral cuts in the bark, along the stem,
532 and a superposed head-piece in shavings with seven braided tresses on the crown. Compare Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3, which represents a simplified type of this inau for the fireside.

Inau-sticks are often mere miniatures of these large inau-trees, which cannot be used everywhere with equal ease, on account of their size and cumbersomeness.

778 Further, there are to be distinguished individual and group inau. The latter are called *nusa* (a Japanese term), or *inau-chipa;* and, according to the purpose for which they are designed, they consist of one or another number of figures, — now of husband and wife, now of a whole family, and again of master and assistants. A whole forest of such group inau is arranged in a semicircle on the arena on the occasion of a bear festival.

789 The appellation "inau" is not confined to the figured
778 sticks, — poles and trees cut into shavings in a certain manner, — but is applied as well to the very shavings (though, without the stem, they represent no figure), and even to articles made of shavings, provided they bear upon the cult. Thus, the shavings with which the Ainu are wont to tie their heads at
[301] solemn banquets bear the same name, which is also given to
[796] ornaments woven of shavings put on the bear's head during the bear festival (Plate XXXV, Fig. 2), and to a whole line of all possible kinds of medicinal frontlets and fillets made of shavings (Figs. 4 and 5). Some of these last are made of common fabrics throughout, but are trimmed with cords twisted of finely cut shavings; and therefore they, too, are characterized as "inau." It is sufficiently manifest from this that *shavings are the most essential attribute of inau,* and it is particularly necessary that this should be borne in mind in order to clearly understand the meaning of this peculiar form of cult.

778 The inau play an enormous part in the Ainu's life. All his
771 surroundings, all his environments, his whole field of activity,
782 is filled with inau. Enter his house. On the fireplace is set up an *unti-inau,* inau to the "mistress" of the fire (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 3); in the corner there is a fringed *tisse-kamui inau,* inau to the "master" of the house, the ancestor; to the fender of the

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778 fireplace a special *inumpa-inau* is consecrated; at the door is
791 an *apa syat un inau;* over the bedstead are suspended here and
782 there medicinal inau. Outside of the house, on the eastern side, rise up whole group inau made of tall poles and trees, in front of which the owner of the house daily recites his lengthy prayers. And further, wherever one turns, — on mountain, on seashore, on river-bank, in forest, on roads, on mountain-summits, in cemeteries, — everywhere, large inau, of most varied forms — to the "master" of the mountain (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 2), sun (Fig. 3), sea, river, to an ancestor, whale, otter, bear, seal, etc. — are to be seen.

All these are *permanent inau,* which are regularly set up at a certain time and at certain places. Periodically, once a year, and sometimes even oftener, they are renewed, and the old ones are carefully stored up in special sheds.

778 But even more numerous are the inau made for this or that
782 particular occasion. For example, after every successful hunt,
[224] inau are made to this or that divinity, and, in addition, the heads of the killed beasts, or their wooden effigies (Plate XXXV, Fig. 4), are adorned with inau. If one falls ill or recovers, if he goes on a journey or returns, etc., there is a new inau. A systematic catalogue of inau would fill a volume. It may be said without exaggeration that a considerable portion of the Ainu's life is spent in producing inau, and it is only at the end of a long life that complete mastery of this mysterious science is attained.

771 This odd cult[1] has spread from the Ainu to the neighboring
771 people of the Amur region, — the Gilyak, the Orok, the Gold, and the Orochi; but, so far as we are aware, it has been found nowhere else. Judging from KRASHENINNIKOF's description,[1] an analogous phenomenon exists among the Kamchadal, but with the substitution of fibres of sedge-grass for shavings.

778 3. Two questions are to be cleared up, — What is the pur-
114 pose of the inau? Whence its peculiar shape? Some inquirers have answered both questions; others, only the first.

BATCHELOR, the well-known missionary, who has lived for several years among the Ainu, on the Island of Yezo, now sees

[1] A Description of the Land Kamchatka, second edition, pp. 331, 332.

1. [The inau cult -- Analyst]

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in them "mere offerings," and again "genuine fetiches."[1] Mrs. BIRD, who has travelled among the Ainu, considers the inau to be domestic deities.

An entirely peculiar opinion is held by the Russian observer, Dr. M. M. DOBROTVORSKI, who lived among the Ainu on Saghalin in the seventies, and wrote a dictionary of the Ainu language. He maintains that the inau are but effigies, *substitutes for human sacrifices*, which, according to the Ainu themselves, were once performed, and are even now in use among some of their tribesmen.[2]

This hypothesis contradicts the facts. In the first place, it must be pointed out that on a whole line of inau — as, for example, on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1 — there are no notches at all. Further, a whole line of inau consists of shavings alone, without a suggestion of human figures. On many which have notches, as on Fig. 2, these notches, as stated by the Ainu, denote parts of the face, — the eyebrows, eyes, mouth, and nose. But even in the case of such figures as those seen on Plate XXXIV, Figs. 3 and 4, where the middle portion stripped of bark might be interpreted as the abdomen, the notches happen to be just above and below that part, and cannot, at any rate, represent the cutting-open of the belly. In reality, on these figures, the upper notch denotes the mouth; the two lower, the navel and sexual organs. On some inau the middle, planed part is even pointed out by the Ainu as the face. Thus Dobrotvorski's hypothesis falls *per se*.

[1] [This was formerly the opinion of Batchelor, which, however, he has given up and partly revised in his new book The Ainu and Their Folklore (London, 1901, pp. 96 et seq., pp. 110 et seq.); compare also the critical remarks on the subject by Cl. E. MAITRE (Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. II, p. 216; Vol. III, p. 126). Batchelor is now also of the same opinion as the author of this paper, that there are inau acting as "mediators or messengers, whose spirits pass between men and the various deities." The fact that these two authors were independently led to this result seems to me a very remarkable coincidence; but there can be no doubt that Dr. Sternberg went far beyond Batchelor in the elucidation of the question. — EDITOR.]

[2] Aino-Russian Dictionary, Supplement, p. 65; also Introduction, p. 42. Kasan, 1875.

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778 174 More attention is due to the considerations of W. G. ASTON,[1] who derives the inau from the Japanese Shinto cult, and connects them with the so-called *gohei,* sacrificial sticks hung around with strips of colored paper. In earliest times, argues this investigator, fabrics, yarn, and fibres of textile plants, were very frequently to be found among the common offerings of the Shinto cult. Later on, these real offerings, bearing the name "nusa," assumed a purely fictitious form, having been supplanted by sticks with strips of fabrics or fibres of plants attached to them; and later still, when cotton came into general use, they were entirely superseded by strips of paper. These very sticks, hung around with strips of paper, and called "gohei," are, in the opinion of Aston, the prototypes of the Ainu inau. In their subsequent evolution, these gohei, and with them the inau, have become, from mere objects of offering, independent objects of worship, having been transformed into miracle-working magic beings, and even receptacles of spirit-deities.

778 114 194 However tempting the acceptance of this hypothesis may seem, — the more so because the gohei indeed somewhat resemble the inau in shape; and, furthermore, the most ancient forms of gohei bear the name "nusa,"[2] identical with the Ainu [192] name for a group of inau,[3] — yet the reasons adduced by the author in support of his hypothesis are not conclusive. Indeed, if the inau are but the Japanese nusa and gohei, then the Ainu, like the Japanese, would have passed from fabrics and fibres to *paper;* or, if paper strips were for some reason or other beyond their means, they would have retained the old form of nusa, — that is, fabrics and spinning-yarns, — which would be the more [286] natural, as the Ainu are familiar with the weaver's art; and textile material, in the form of nettle and elm-bast, was always ready at hand.

[1] The Japanese Gohei and the Ainu Inao (Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1901, Vol. XXXI).

[2] In reality, the Ainu have their own synonymes for "nusa," *inau-chipa;* and the Japanese, on the other hand, call the Ainu nusa by the name *inau no rui.* Compare this word in BATCHELOR's Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary.

[3] See p. 429.

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Of greater interest are the considerations of the same author, quoting two Japanese writers of the beginning and end of the eighteenth century, that, among the ceremonial objects of the Shinto cult, there had been the so-called *kedzuri-kake* (half-shaved little sticks). An extant representation of such a stick resembles the inau very closely indeed; but this fact argues rather against the gohei-inau hypothesis, and for the following reasons. As stated by the author himself, the said kedzuri-kake were lighted at the sacred fire of the temple, and carried home by the Shintoists to kindle the New-Year's fire on the hearth. This ceremonial, no doubt, must be very old; and for such a purpose, the kindling of fire, the ancient nusa of fabrics and yarn would be utterly good for nothing. If such is the case, the little half-shaved sticks of the Shinto cult must be of *primary* origin, and then they have nothing in common with the gohei; and there is more reason to credit their invention to the Ainu than to the Japanese, as among the former the cult of "shaved" sticks has received the widest development, while in the case of Shintoism we know of but one or two isolated cases.

I have now only to give my personal considerations and observations on the meaning of inau and their origin.

4. First of all, it was important for me to ascertain clearly how the Ainu themselves look upon their inau. This I endeavored to do in all possible ways during my travels among the Saghalin Ainu; and, to be just, they formulated their ideas on the subject with a clearness and definiteness that left nothing to be desired. Among the Saghalin Ainu, in the early nineties, the greatest authority was vested in a certain man called Nisendus, the venerable aged chief of the village Mauko. He was, forsooth, a very venerable and sensible old man, a veritable patriarch, of whom his fellow tribesmen used to say that he was "just as good" as a kamui (god). I wished to verify my former inquiries and observations, and, while at his village, I visited him. He was just installing a new *unti-kamui inau* on his fireplace. "Explain to me," said I, "why you make these inau. What are they?"—"This," said the old man, "is an *ikoy-itáku ainu* ('mediator, envoy, orator'). The

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778 124 774 776 Ainu tells this deity[1] his wants, and he will convey them to the kamui. One goes to the 'master' of the fire; another, to that of the mountain; another still, to the 'master' of the sea; and all of them help the Ainu." — "And how can a little stick talk?" — "It is not the stick, but its *soul*, that goes and re-tells all to the kamui. Why, even a tree — that, too, has a soul."

778 774 Nisendus but formulated that which even previously I had had occasion to observe and hear everywhere among the Ainu, and earlier still among the Gilyak. Thus *inau is not a deity, nor an offering, but a living mediator between gods and man,* — a "wooden man," who is endowed with the faculty of conveying rapidly, eloquently, and efficiently the wants of man to the gods.

778 776 782 The epithet "kamui," which the Ainu bestow so lavishly upon any animal whatever, upon many of their fellow-tribesmen, even upon every material object seeming extraordinary or mysterious, is never applied to inau. They are treated, it is true, as tabooed objects, but by no means as deities. The Ainu pray before them. Every day, before the nusa behind the eastern window, most fervently do the elders of the house lift up their voices in lengthy prayers; but these prayers are addressed to the respective deities, and not to the inau. Before the inau, libations of the sacrificial *sake* are made; on them, various trifles (shreds of cloth, sabre-hilts, ear-rings, etc.) are hung; but all of these are offerings which the inau, or rather their souls, must deliver to the respective gods.

For the expression "offering" there is a special term, *inomi*, denoting all kinds of food, beverages, tobacco, cloth-stuffs, valuables, presented to the gods, but by no means to the inau. And naturally, too, the inau as mediators are needed by men, but not by deities.

778 182 789 Notwithstanding their modest rôle of mediators, the inau, in the eyes of the Ainu, are of immense importance; for without them, not a prayer would be heard, not a want would be satisfied, and life itself would be impossible. *Inau sak guru*, "a man without an inau," is the last man (Batchelor).

463 554 [1] Literally, "interpreting-man, envoy, orator," a term specially applied to individuals distinguished through eloquence, who act as envoy and mediators in affairs of vengeance, war, and peace.

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To realize fully the significance of the inau in the eyes of the Ainu, one must see what importance is attached to them in moments of grave danger. Many a time have I sailed with the Ainu in their frail canoes on the stormy Okhotsk Sea, and more than once have the raging billows threatened to engulf us; but never, even in the most critical moments, did our companions lose their self-possession. Realizing the danger we were in, the Ainu helmsman would take out a small stick prepared beforehand, and would begin to cut it quickly into shavings. When the figure was ready, he would cast it into the waves with the instruction, "Go to the 'master' of the sea and tell him to take a good look. Will it be well if we and this Russian gentleman perish, and the kamui does not look on?"

It remains to clear up the rôle played by the *shavings* in the inau. Precisely why does the "being cut into shavings" appear as their indispensable attribute? The answer, I surmise, is, that the value of the shavings is associated with the ideas that are in the mind of the Ainu during the process of "shaving." Very frequently he has to shave pieces of wood, several times a day even, — whenever he has to make a fire in the open air, often in the midst of rain and wind, which are so common in his rough and inclement country. Believing as he does that the tree is animated, even manlike, — the sap of which he considers blood; the branches, arms; the rustle of its leaves, speech, — he cannot help being struck with the mysterious expressiveness of those long, fantastically winding, pointed tree-*tongues*, which fly so swiftly from under his curved knife, only to turn again with equal rapidity, as if alive, into grotesque curls.

And the Ainu, as we have seen, looks upon the matter just this way, calling his inau *"ikoytaku ainu"* ("orator-man"). Thus the Gilyak, too, calls it, *khlay-nivukh* (synonyme of the Ainu term, literally, "interpreting man"). The shavings on the inau are precisely the orator's tongues, and in these latter lies the whole sense of the inau. This is not merely hypothetical. It is confirmed by the formation of the word *inau* itself. It is composed of the common pleonastic particle *i*, which is very often omitted, — for instance, in the word *inomi* = *nomi*

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778 196 174 [193] ("sacrifice"), — and the word *nau*, consisting of *ni* ("tree") and *ay* ("tongue"). Thus *inau* signifies literally "a tree's tongue."

778 171 Again, this peculiar idea of *tongues* of a tree-orator presents nothing exceptional in comparative ethnography. Ideas almost identical are to be found in most diverse parts of the earth and among most diverse peoples of those parts, on the subject, for example, of *fire* in connection with the noisy *many-tonguedness* of its flame.

778 To sum up, inau are "shaved" trees and pieces of wood, commonly in the shape of human figures, which act as men's intercessors before deities. Their power lies in their numerous *tongues* (shavings), which increase the suasive power of their eloquence to an extraordinary degree. Their present-day variety of form and destination is the result of a long evolution. In the beginning, a bunch of shavings issuing from a single short stem, after the manner of a stick shaved for kindling a fire, was probably all-sufficient.

In the course of time the Ainu began to pay more attention [532] to the stem proper (body of the mediator), began to endow it with notches, a little head-piece, hands, arms, and to arrange the shavings (as a sort of supplement to the figures) in the form of hair, braids, vegetation on the body, and so forth. On the other hand, the shavings in themselves, apart from the stem, attained an independent development and most varied application.

At first mere "tongues" before the gods, the inau, owing to the importance of their rôle, the habit of looking upon them as a cult-object indispensable in all cases, have acquired to some degree an *independent* importance of sacredness and divinity. To them independent wonder-working power began to be attributed. Hence inau began to be looked upon, not only as intercessors before gods, but even as objects agreeable and useful to the gods themselves. Thus the "shaved" trees in front [782] of the arena at the bear festival are destined partly to the Bear himself and partly to his mother, evidently as simple amulets for these divine beings. Gods, just as much as men, are in [171] need of them. Thus the Orok, for example, the neighbors of

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778 the Ainu, when making a medicinal effigy of a tiger-man, fasten
[191] on its breast an exact miniature reproduction of it, which is to serve as an amulet for the deity itself.

778 On the other hand, inau become the customary amulets for
765 men also. They began to be applied first in cases of sickness.
789 The diseased parts of the body, particularly the head, came to be bound with shavings. The stem, in such cases, as preventing their application, was cast away. This mode of healing created a whole pharmacology of bandages, frontlets, belts, in which the shavings appear in the shape of the most diverse plaitings (cords, circlets, etc.) in conjunction with various other amulets, like glass beads, wooden images of various organs of the body, etc. (see Plate XXXIV, Fig. 5; Plate XXXV, Figs. 3 and 5). To strengthen their effect, the shaving-plaitings receive, moreover, the form of various magic figures, as circles
[537] (symbol of the sun), and similar magic symbols. Another
[291] step, and the medicinal bandages, with their artful plaitings of
[301] shavings, entered the every-day sphere of dress and ornaments.

796 It is instructive to trace this development in the ceremonial
825 of attiring the bear at the festival. Primarily they adorned
291 the slain bear with shavings alone as the necessary amulets for
301 the slain animal, just as the Gilyak, in such cases, attach to the
789 bear an image of a toad, their mightiest amulet. The heads of killed seals, even nowadays, before being cast into the sea, are tied over with mere shavings. But at present the modest shavings on the bear's head have turned into a whole complex of head-gear, frontlets, ear-caps, ear-rings, etc., daintily plaited of shavings (see Plate XXXV, Figs. 2, 6).

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

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ETHNOLOGY ∞

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF
CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

July, 1962 **Volume I** **Number 3**

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Kinship Organization of the Saru Ainu[1]

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The ethnological importance of the culture of the Ainu, perhaps overshadowed by the biological significance of this archaic Caucasoid people, has never received proper attention in Western anthropological literature. This also reflects the fact that the aboriginal culture of the Ainu, as Takakura (1960) has shown, had begun to disintegrate long before modern times. Early in the nineteenth century the Japanese government tightened its political control over the Ainu, and this policy, together with the adoption of agriculture by this basically hunting-and-gathering people, increasing intermarriage with the neighboring Japanese, and the adoption of the Japanese language for everyday conversation, so altered the Ainu culture that a study of the aboriginal conditions is now extremely difficult.

Nevertheless, research in all aspects of Ainu culture is being carried on—primarily by Japanese scholars. In 1951 the Japanese Society of Ethnology sent a team of anthropologists to the Saru River valley, in southwestern Hokkaido, to study the Ainu of this area, using modern anthropological techniques. This field work, in which the senior author participated, has thrown considerable light on the nature of the Ainu kinship structure, about which very little had been known. A unique feature of the Ainu kinship system which came to be understood at this time is that men trace their descent patrilineally and women matrilineally. Although this characteristic had been noted in passing by Takakura (1944: 54-55) and Natori (1945: 114), a full understanding of this unusual descent system, particularly in relation to other aspects of the social organization, had to await the 1951 field investigation. The purpose of this paper is to outline the kinship organization of the Saru Ainu with special emphasis on the nature of their descent system.

Family

Although the contemporary Ainu family tends to be extended, in aboriginal times the nuclear family seems to have been the preponderant pattern, with occasional coresidence of a widowed kinsman. In the rare cases of polygyny, each wife, with her children, had her own dwelling.

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own dwelling. The levirate was preferential except when the deceased husband was the eldest son; then the widow was expected to remain unmarried. The sororate was not prohibited, but was apparently not a preferred form of marriage.

At marriage a man left his family of orientation and established a separate household near his patrikin,[2] and his wife came to live with him. The eldest son looked after his parents and inherited (or at least held in custody) certain properties which were traditionally transmitted patrilineally. The eldest son's descent line constituted the main line of descent, while younger sons established branches.

The family was dissolved at the death of either spouse. A widower built a new house near his close patrikin, while a widow lived with her brother or her mother's brother. Male children of a family which was dissolved, either by a parent's death or by divorce, were looked after by their father's kinsmen, often being adopted into their families, and the care of female children fell to their mother's kinsmen—practices which are in consonance with the Ainu descent rules.

Kinship Terminology

The most important kinship terms of the Saru Ainu are listed, defined, and discussed below:

1 *ekashi:* grandfather, great-grandfather, male ancestor. A great-grandfather was also called *makta ekashi.*

2 *kuchi:* grandmother, great-grandmother, female ancestor. A great-grandmother was also called *makta kuchi.*

3 *ona* (or *onaka*): father (in reference only). The term of address for father was *michi.* The inhabitants of the lower Saru River are said to have used *iyapo* instead of *michi.* The terms *kanna* ("upper") and *sapa* ("head") connoted father in such expressions as *kanna samma* ("paternal"), *shine sapa ko utar* (meaning brothers by the same father) and *oya sapa kor kur* (meaning brothers by different fathers).

4 *unu* (or *unuhu*): mother (in reference only). The term of address for mother was *hapo.* The term *popke* ("warm") also connoted mother in the phrase *popke samma* ("maternal"). On the upper Mukawa River children, it is reported, addressed their mother as *totto* ("breast").

5 *achapo:* uncle (paternal or maternal), father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband, foster father, stepfather (in address). A foster father was referred to as *iresu achapo* and a stepfather as *mama michi* (*mama* is the Japanese word for "step-"). Paternal and maternal uncles could be distinguished as *kanna samma achapo* and *popke samma achapo*, respectively. The term *keushus* also meant uncle, although it also referred to a male ancestor or an elderly man.

6 *unarpe:* aunt (paternal or maternal), father's brother's wife, mother's brother's wife, foster mother, stepmother (in address). A foster mother was referred to as *iresu unarpe* and a stepmother as *mama hapo.* Paternal and maternal aunts could be distinguished as *kanna samma unarpe* and *popke samma unarpe*, respectively.

7 *irwak* (or *irpe*): sibling. In the narrowest sense this term meant brother (male speaking), but it was also used for a sister (female speaking) and, in a very broad sense, was extended to any kinsman. This term was used only in reference. Half siblings by the same father were called *oya unu korkur*, and those by the same mother, *oya sapa korkur.* All brothers, full or half, by the same father were called *shine onaka ir-utar, shine onaka esap utar*, or *shine sapa korkur.* All sisters, full or half, by the same mother were called *shine unuhu epeka ir-utar, shine unuhu esap utar*, or *shine unu korkur.*

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First and second cousins, if parallel, used sibling terms for one another in both reference and address.[8] 601

8 *yupi*: elder brother, elder first and second male parallel cousin, spouse's elder brother, elder sister's husband, spouse's elder sister's husband. This and the following sibling terms were employed only in address. 104

9 *aki*: younger brother, younger first and second male parallel cousin, spouse's younger brother, younger sister's husband, spouse's younger sister's husband.

10 *sapo*: elder sister, elder first and second female parallel cousin, spouse's elder sister, elder brother's wife, spouse's elder brother's wife.

11 *matapa* (or *matirpe* or *turesh*): younger sister (male speaking), younger first and second female parallel cousin (male speaking), wife's younger sister, younger brother's wife (male speaking), wife's younger brother's wife.

12 *matahi*: younger sister (female speaking), younger first and second female parallel cousin (female speaking), husband's younger sister, younger brother's wife (female speaking), husband's younger brother's wife.

13 *utata irwak* (or *shine irwak esap utari*): parallel cousin. Patrilateral parallel cousins were also called by such terms as *shine onaha epeka ir-utar*, *shine onaha esap utar* (cf. 7 above), *shine onaha esap ir-utar*, *shine onaha epeka utar*, and *onaha epeka it-irwak*. The first term, as well as *kanna samma ir-utar* and *kanna samma ir irwak*, also had the meaning of patrilateral second parallel cousin.
Matrilateral parallel cousins were also called by such terms as *shine unuhu epeka ir-utar*, *shine unuhu esap utar* (cf. 7 above), *shine unuhu esap ir-utar*, *shine unuhu epeka utar*, *unuhu epeka ir-irwak*, and *mat sammani ir-irwak*. The first of these terms, together with *popke samma u-ir-kar* and *popke samma ir-irwak*, also had the meaning of matrilateral second parallel cousin.

14 *onaha epeka irwak ne utar* (or *onaha epeka apanu utar*): patrilateral cross-cousin.

15 *unuhu epeka irwak ne utar* (or *unuhu epeka apanu utar*): matrilateral cross-cousin.

16 *po* (or *ku-poko*): son, stepson, or foster son (used in address and during childhood only). When a son had grown up, he was addressed by his given name. Sugiura (1954) does not report terms of reference for son or daughter, but he does state that stepchildren and foster children were called by the same terms as own children.

17 *matne-po* (or *ku-matne poko*): daughter, stepdaughter, or foster daughter (used in address and during childhood only). When a daughter became adult, she was addressed by her given name.

18 *karku*: nephew, i.e., son of a brother, of a sister, or of a parallel cousin.

19 *matharku*: niece, i.e., daughter of a sibling or parallel cousin.

20 *mitpo*: grandchild of either sex.

21 *san-mitpo*: great-grandchild.

22 *hoku* (or *hokuku*): husband (in reference only). In address, a woman called her husband *tan-kur* (this person), *toan-kur* (that person), or *ku-kor-nishpa* (master).

23 *machi* (or *machiki*): wife (in reference only). A husband addressed his wife by her given name, but in old age might call her *ku-kor-menoko*, *ku-kor-machi*, or *ku-kor-machiki*. A person of either sex might also refer to his or her spouse as *ku uesonep*, *kekote-kur*, or *itomnu-kar*. A term of respect for someone else's wife was *a-kor-katkemat*, meaning "your lady."

24 *shiuto ekashpo* (or *shiuto ekashi*): father-in-law. *Shiuto* is the Japanese term for father-in-law.

25 *shiuto unarpe* (or *shiuto kuchi*): mother-in-law.

26 *kokou* (or *ku-kokouve*): son-in-law.

27 *koshmat* (or *ku-koshmachi*): daughter-in-law.

In this terminological structure three major themes can be discerned. The first is the stress placed on the sibling relationship, as may be observed in the usages of various kinship terms. For example, the reference term *irwak* was extended from "brothers (male speaking)" in the narrowest sense to "sisters (female speaking)" and then to cousins. Similarly, address terms for siblings (*yupi*, *aki*, etc.) were also extended to cousins and to many categories of affinals 593 601 605

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593 The term for brothers by the same father, *shine onaha epeka ir-utar*,
601 was extended to patrilateral parallel cousins and to second patri-
605 lateral parallel cousins. On the female side, the term for sisters by the same mother was used in reference to matrilateral parallel cousins, both first and second.

601 It may be noted that this classificatory treatment of unilateral
602 parallel cousins as siblings was not accompanied among the Ainu by a corresponding classificatory treatment of kinsmen of the parental generation. In other words, parallel cousins called one another brothers and sisters, but their respective parents were not treated as classificatory parents. Instead, they remained uncles and aunts. For example, a female Ego and her female matrilateral parallel cousin's son called each other aunt (*unarpe*) and nephew (*karku*) rather than mother and son.

601 The second major theme discernible in the terminology is suggested in some of the examples, namely, the separation of kinsmen on the basis of the sex of Ego or of connecting relatives. The starting point of this separation was the distinction between brothers and sisters: *irwak* referred to siblings of the same sex, those of the opposite sex being referred to as "relatives" (*shine utari*). Also, brothers by the same father were grouped together under one designation and were distinguished from those by different fathers, and so were sisters by the same and different mothers. This distinction, again, manifests
[605] itself in the separation of (1) parallel cousins from cross-cousins, (2) patrilateral parallel cousins from matrilateral parallel cousins, and (3) second unilateral parallel cousins from other second cousins.

614 This sex-based distinction leads to the third theme: the grouping together of patrilineally related males, who were called *shine ekashi esap utar*, and the comparable grouping of matrilineally related females, who were called *shine huchi esap utar*. Separation between brothers and sisters in the use of the term *irwak* and the grouping of brothers by the same father and of sisters by the same mother are some of the mechanisms through which this "unisexual" grouping was accomplished. This theme leads us to a discussion of the principal characteristic of the Ainu kinship organization, namely, that men were organized into patrilineal descent groups, known as *ekashi ikir*, and women into separate matrilineal descent groups known as *huchi ikir*.

Patrilineal and Matrilineal Descent Groups

611 It is clear that the patrilineal and matrilineal groups differed
614 from the usual unilineal descent group in their inclusion of unilineally related individuals of one sex only.[4] This unusual structural arrangement involved no difficulties so far as the recruitment and affiliation of members were concerned, for the patrilineal group claimed only its members' sons as new recruits and the matrilineal group only its members' daughters, and a given individual was member of only one descent group. Thus the overlapping membership and divided

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loyalties which might result from a typical double (or bilineal) descent system were absent among the Saru Ainu.

Principal Features of the Patrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Ancestral emblem.* All men belonging to the same patrilineal group shared an ancestral emblem or crest of the same form. This emblem, known as *itokpa*, was inherited from father to son and served as the principal symbol of the group (Natori 1940; 1945: 41-51). Whether or not every member of the group had to be able to trace patrilineal descent from the founding ancestor is not clear. Although many men can still do so, this does not appear to have been required. It was rather the emblem itself which served as the concrete proof of the membership. Daughters, of course, did not inherit the emblem.

(2) *Guardian deity.* All members of a patrilineal descent group worshipped the same guardian deity, known as *pase-onkami*. The deities worshipped were the bear, owl, fox, dolphin, etc. The Ainu believed that these deities had once been protectors of their ancestors. For this reason some writers have regarded these deities as totems, but none of our data seems to support this view. There is today no clear notion among the Ainu that these animals share flesh and blood in common with their ancestors or that the animals should not be killed or eaten. The Ainu lack any totemic myth to explain the origin of the relationship between an animal and those who worship it. Also, in each family, the worship of the guardian deity was conducted by the head of the family. There were no totemic ceremonies or feasts at which all those who worshipped the same animal congregated to strengthen the solidarity of the group.

Although the ancestral crest and the guardian deity were supposed to be transmitted through both the main line and all the branch lines of a descent group, some of the branch lines, and even the main line, have at times partially modified the crest in the course of generations and have replaced the original guardian deity with another. This phenomenon suggests a mechanism of segmentation in the Ainu kinship organization, although there is no direct evidence of this.

(3) *Perpetuation of the descent line.* Patrilineal descent was normally continued from father to son. In the absence of male heirs, however, it was common for an Ainu family to have a son-in-law or a foster son inherit the emblem and worship the group's guardian deity. The father-in-law or foster father would ask the guardian deity if his son-in-law or foster son might be admitted to the patrilineal group, and, when permission was granted, he taught the novice about the ancestral emblem and the deity of the group. Since these recruits were considered full-fledged members of a patrilineal group, genealogies provided by native informants do not necessarily reflect strictly biological descent.

Immigrants to a village and servants whom the Ainu considered good men might also be given the right to share the emblem of the descent group of the village, worship its deity, and thus be incor-

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porated into the group. Such a newcomer gave "man's treasure" (*ekashi korpe*)—the nature of which is not clear—and other objects as compensation at his initiation ceremony. It is said that there used to be villages in which all the male residents belonged to a single descent group. A newcomer to such a village was required to abandon the emblem and deity of his original group and accept those of the new group. Some individuals, however, continued to worship their own deities even after the emblem and deity of the new group had been forced upon them.

In a marriage between a Japanese man and an Ainu woman, their son, who had no one from whom to inherit an emblem and deity, received these from one of his mother's male kinsmen. There has been a case in which three sons of a Japanese father received three different emblems and deities from three different maternal relatives. Sometimes a son born to a Japanese father and an Ainu mother was given the crest and deity of the mother's second (Ainu) husband and thus became a member of the latter's descent group.

(4) *Economic functions.* We were not able to learn whether an entire descent group or any segment of it larger than the nuclear family ever cooperated in economic activities. Nor does any property appear to have been commonly owned by either the patrilineal group as a whole or by any of its segments larger than the family. "Man's treasure," it is said, was handed down from the father to the eldest son, younger sons having to earn theirs through their own effort. Some informants maintain, however, that when there were many brothers, although the eldest son was custodian of the "treasure," other sons had legitimate access to it. We have no evidence that members of a descent group owned "man's treasure" in common. In default of a son, the eldest daughter's husband or a foster son inherited this property. In an ordinary lineage system, property and status are inherited by lineage mates in genealogical order, the lineage thus serving as the basic unit of inheritance. In the Ainu kinship system, however, the family was the basic unit.

(5) *Political function in relation to the village.* It is not clear what significance the patrilineal group had as a political or legal body. One difficulty in discerning the political function of the patrilineal group is that the relationship of this kinship group to the village (*kotan*) as a territorial group is not very definite, so that the political function of one may be confused with that of the other. This is particularly true if all men in a village belonged to a single patrilineal group, as seems to have been fairly usual. In fact, older informants of the Saru River area maintain that in former times all men of a village did share the same ancestral emblem. This is probably the reason why the term for patrilineal group, *ekashi ikir*, was sometimes used to designate the village.

If the kinship group and the territorial group coincided perfectly, it may seem impossible as well as unnecessary to distinguish the functions of the two, even on theoretical grounds. However, the Ainu apparently made a distinction between the village head, *kotan-kor-kur*,

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and the leader of the patrilineal group, *utar-pake*, which suggests that the kin group and the territorial group were regarded conceptually as separate entities.[5] Takakura (1944: 63) states that the head of a kin group (*utar-pake*) "was traditionally the representative of a village and at the same time maintained the order of the village." This suggests that the head of the patrilineal group was also the village leader. If a village included two or more patrilineal groups, the head of one of them seems to have been the village leader. The specific duties of the village headman are not known; but whatever they may have been, the headman does not seem to have had any great authority. The position of the village head was inherited patrilineally within the descent group as a whole—in contrast to the "man's treasure," which was inherited within the family.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). Since a detailed analysis of Ainu ancestor worship is available elsewhere (Kubodera 1952), we shall consider only the questions of (a) who participated in these rites and (b) which ancestors were worshipped. The family head or a closely related older patrikin, knowledgeable in ceremonial matters, officiated at the ritual. The family head's daughters and his father's sisters and daughters, who, of course, belonged to different matrilineal groups, also participated. The ancestors worshipped on these occasions were the male participants' fathers, grandfathers, and other male ancestors and the female participants' mothers, grandmothers, and other ancestresses. As the priest prayed to these ancestors through the deity of fire, they in turn convoked other ancestors, so that a large number of ancestors were worshipped at the same time. All the male ancestors propitiated were members of a single patrilineal group, whereas the ancestresses belonged to several different matrilineal groups.

Principal Features of the Matrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Belt.* Underneath her clothes every adolescent or mature Ainu woman wore a belt, called *upshor* (Segawa 1952). This belt was never to be shown or talked about, and a great deal of magical belief was associated with it. Women who belonged to the same matrilineal group wore belts which were made in the same manner and differed from those worn by women of other descent groups. The belt was thus the symbol and proof of membership in the matrilineal group, as the ancestral crest was of the patrilineal group. A woman without a female blood relative from whom to inherit a belt sometimes received one from a woman belonging to a different matrilineal descent group. Moreover, if a woman married a son or brother of a woman who possessed the same type of belt as hers—in violation of the exogamous rule to be discussed below—the bride changed the type of belt she wore. Her daughter, however, reverted to the use of the original belt.

(2) *Inheritance of special skills.* Magical skills to cure illness and to communicate with the gods, midwifery, and the ability to recite Ainu epics are said to have been inherited matrilineally by

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women. These skills were conceived to be biologically innate rather than learned.

(3) *"Woman's treasure."* Woman's treasure was passed from mother to eldest daughter. Some informants maintain that, though the eldest daughter was the custodian of the treasure, her sisters had legitimate access to it. In the absence of a daughter, the wife of the eldest son inherited the treasure. The family, rather than the matrilineal group, was the unit of inheritance as it was for "man's treasure."

(4) *Marriage.* Marriage usually took place within the village. Intervillage marriage tended to be avoided because of expense; it involved bride exchange: a girl of the village to which the new bride came had to be sent to the bride's village. The girl thus given in exchange did not necessarily marry into the bride's family, but she did have to marry a man of the latter's village. This practice of bride exchange tended to concentrate the women of a matrilineal group and to perpetuate its descent line in the same village. Compared with men of the same patrilineal group, however, women belonging to the same descent group were more dispersed. Rules of exogamy will be discussed below in connection with the matrilineage.

(5) *Cooperation among matrikin.* Handling of the dead at funerals was the task of matrilineally related women. According to one informant, a woman's body was attended to by her matrikin in the following order of preference: her mother, her mother's sisters, her own sisters, and her other matrikin.[6] In illness, a sick Ainu woman preferred to be nursed by her matrikin, and a sick Ainu man by his mother's matrikin. The birth of the first child took place in the mother's natal home; later births in her husband's home. While it was desirable for a woman to have her matrikin serve as midwives, this was not necessary; at childbirth the assistance of many women was required. These assistants included not only the pregnant woman's matrikin but also her father's female relatives, if the childbirth took place in her natal home; if it took place in her husband's home, the husband's female relatives helped. On the seventeenth day following birth a ceremony called *kamui ko yayattasa* ("thanksgiving to gods") was performed by the mother's male consanguines, attended by blood relatives, of both sexes, of her mother's father and of her husband. A woman was not allowed to officiate at a thanksgiving ceremony but had to depend on a male relative—most often either a brother or a son of one of her matrikin or else one of her father's patrikin.

(6) *Ancestor worship (shinnurappa).* When a husband worshipped his ancestors, his wife also participated in the ceremony. At the same time, she worshipped her own matrilineal ancestresses and her father's ancestors. Generally speaking, she placed the greatest emphasis on the worship of her matrilineal ancestresses. A man, however, worshipped his patrilineal ancestors exclusively. Noteworthy in this connection is the Ainu conception of the afterworld. It appears that women were thought to join their dead matrikin and men their dead patrikin. If this was actually the belief, the distinc-

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tion between the patrilineal and matrilineal groups was carried even into the after life, and the belief must have served as a "social charter" in Malinowski's sense.

Relationships Between the Sexes

Although in Ainu society the two sexes were segregated into mutually exclusive descent groups, men and women obviously could not and did not remain separate. There were many areas of social life, aside from the daily management of household tasks, in which mutual cooperation between the sexes was necessary. Some of these have already been discussed. For example, at childbirth, a woman relied, not only on her own matrikin, but also on her father's and husband's female blood relatives. At the thanksgiving ceremony after childbirth and in the worship of ancestors, women, who were not permitted to officiate at religious affairs, had to depend on their male relatives. Finally, with the dissolution of a marriage, whether owing to the death of the husband or to divorce, a wife usually went to live with her mother's brother or her own brother. A man, on the other hand, was dependent on his female relatives in illness and also at death. We are not certain whether these relationships between the sexes were purely individual, whether they were between a patrilineal group and a matrilineal group as expressed through their individual members, or whether they were between an individual and a descent group of the opposite sex.

The Problem of Matrilineages

Ainu patrilineal and matrilineal groups differ from typical unilineal descent groups in their exclusion of one or the other sex. The question arises whether the Ainu may not also have had unilineal descent groups of the ordinary type, i.e., including unilineally related individuals of both sexes. The existence of matrilineages is suggested by the Ainu marriage rules and also by aboriginal designations.

Marriage was prohibited, first of all, between father and daughter, foster father and foster daughter, mother and son, and foster mother and foster son. It was also forbidden between brother and sister. A nephew could marry his paternal but not his maternal aunt, and a niece could marry her paternal but not her maternal uncle. As previously noted, marriage was permitted with any cousin except a matrilineal parallel cousin. In other words, the individuals with whom marriage was prohibited included a male Ego's mother and her matrikin and a female Ego's own and her matrikin's sons and brothers. Put more simply, a woman might not marry (in addition to her father) the son or brother of any woman with whom she shared the same type of belt. These men are obviously the very ones who in an ordinary lineage system would constitute the male members of a matrilineage.

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612 Although the Saru Ainu did not have a single word to designate
601 this group of matrilineally related men and women, there were terms which, taken together, referred to such a group. In the Saru River valley the term *ir-matainu* designated those who composed the matrilineal descent group (*kuchi ikir*). Sons and brothers of *ir-matainu* were called *ir-matainu esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from matrilineally related women"; interpreted literally, this would designate matrilineally related men and women, that is, all members of a matrilineage in the ordinary sense of the term. But since *ir-matainu* already designated matrilineally related women, the term *ir-matainu esap utar* was reserved for matrilineally related men. If these two terms were combined, we would have a matrilineage composed of both sexes. The marriage regulations discussed above, then,
[582] would express a rule of lineage exogamy prohibiting marriage between *ir-matainu* and *ir-matainu esap utar*.

614 In the neighboring Shibechari River valley there was a single
184 expression denoting the matrilineage. Here a matrilineal group (i.e., the *kuchi ikir* of the Saru River valley) was called *mat ikir* ("female line"), and matrilineally related men and women, taken
601 together, were called *shine mat ikir esap utar*, meaning "those who have descended from the same female line," i.e., a matrilineage.

These marriage rules and linguistic expressions would seem to indicate that the Ainu possessed matrilineages. We are not certain what functions, in addition to the regulation of marriage, the matrilineage might have had. The authority relationship between mother's brother and sister's son, which normally plays a crucial role in a matrilineal system, appears to have been absent among the Ainu. Instead, father-son and father's brother-brother's son relationships seem to have been critical. It appears as though the relatively strong solidarity of the patrilineal group overshadowed the significance of the matrilineage. With this meager evidence, however, we cannot insist too strongly on the existence of the matrilineage, but we should consider it in some measure as hypothetical until further evidence is adduced.

Conclusion

611 The most significant feature of Ainu social organization was
614 undoubtedly the unique manner of tracing descent. Men, tracing their descent patrilineally, and women, doing so matrilineally, were
602 organized into separate unisexual groups. What could this type of descent system be called in contradistinction to typical unilineal and double unilineal descent? We propose adoption of the term "parallel descent," advanced by Davenport (1959: 570), since his discussion suggests a close resemblance to the Ainu rule of descent.

614 The Ainu descent group, whether patrilineal or matrilineal, was
602 not "corporate" in the sense of the common possession of property upon which the subsistence of the group's members depended (Befu

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
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and Plotnicov 1962); the basic subsistence unit was the nuclear family. Nor was it unambiguously politically corporate in the sense of having an internal authority structure and a mechanism for external representation—with the possible exception of the patrilineal group localized in a village. Further examination, however, should be made of the extent to which these political functions were clearly attributes of the patrilineal group as a kin-based organization, and not attributes of the village as a territorial group, before we can definitely assert that the patrilineal group was politically corporate.

The matrilineage among the Ainu also poses unsolved problems. The functions of this matrilineal group—if there were any besides the regulation of marriage—should be investigated. At present, the term matrilineage, as applied to Ainu society, connotes little more than a category of individuals who must observe exogamous rules.

The relationship between the patrilineal and the matrilineal groups should also be examined further. We do know that there were certain crucial relationships between the two sexes, but we are not certain whether these relations were, structurally speaking, person-to-person, group-to-group, or person-to-group.

Though we are far from fully comprehending the nature of the Ainu kinship organization, we hope that our brief exposition has contributed to its understanding and that competent field investigation may be continued for the solution of problems such as those posed above before Ainu culture has disintegrated beyond recognition.

NOTES

1. The present paper is primarily based on an article by the senior author (Sugiura 1952), written and published in Japanese. The junior author has extracted information from this article, reorganized it, and added further analysis and discussion. He regrets that he could not consult the senior author, who died in 1954. He expresses his thanks to Professors S. Izumi and T. Sofue for pertinent information on Ainu kinship and to Dr. Lionel S. Lewis and Mrs. Thomas K. Whipple for editorial assistance. Although some of the aboriginal practices are still carried on, we have adopted the past tense throughout this paper, for our concern is strictly with the aboriginal patterns of social organization.
2. Because men alone trace descent patrilineally, all "patrikin" are by definition male. By the same token, all "matrikin" are female.
3. By "second parallel cousin" we mean Ego's FaFaBrSoCh or MoMoSiDaCh.
4. Some authors (e.g., Montandon 1937: 137) have erroneously called these patrilineal and matrilineal groups "clans" without clearly indicating the difference between the Ainu unilineal group and the clan in the ordinary sense of the term. A clan, whatever its definition, includes both sexes.
5. Some of the older informants, to be sure, claim that while the village has always had a head, there was no such status as the head of a patrilineal group.
6. When a man died, his body was supposed to be attended to by female relatives. The most preferred person was his mother or, in her absence, her sisters, her other matrikin, and his wife, in this descending order of preference.

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